Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY AMMAN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9562

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 4 AMMAN 6783

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E.O. 11652 XGDS-1

SUBJECT: PINT PFOR JO XF

SUBJECT: TALK WITH ZAID RIFAI-JORDANS FUTURE

SUMMARY: WHEN I SAW RIFAI NOVEMBER 4 FOLLOWING HIS VISIT TO LEBANON AND SYRIA. I RAISED WITH HIM THE OUESTION OF JORDANS FUTURE. WHILE MY QUESTION WAS CAST IN TERMS OF DEVELOPMENTS IN THE ARAB WORLD WHICH APPEAR TO HAVE PASSED JORDAN BY IT WAS BROAD ENOUGH ALSO TO COMPREHEND CURRENT GOVERNMENTAL PROBLEMS FINANCIAL AND BUDGETARY ISSUES, AND INTERNAL POLITICAL CHANGES. RIFAIS ANSWERES WERE INTERESTING. SINCE HE STILL PLAY A KEY ROLE IN LOCAL AFFAIRS I BELIEVE THAR ARE WORTH PUTTING FORTH AT SOME LENGTH. RIFAI APPEARS GENEUINELY COMMITTED TO SOME FOR OF FEDERATIION WITH SYRIA--WHILE STILL PRESERVING A A BROAD MEASURE OF JORDANIAN LOCAL AUTONOMY-AS THE PROPER EVOLUTION FOR JORDAN FOR THE FUTURE IN THE ARAB WORLD. WHILE RIFAI CLAIMS HE IS NOT RESTLESS TO REENTER POLIICAL LIFE. HIS CONSUMING INTEREST IN AND BACKGROUND MANIPULATION OF LOCAL POLITICAL AND FOREIGN POLICY DEVELOPMENTS BELIES THERE PROTESTATIONS. THE EX PRIME MINISTER SEEMS DETERMINED TO REMOVE ROYAL FAMILY "MEDDLING" AS HE DESCRIBES IT FROM LOCAL POLIICAL LIFE, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF COURSE OF KING HUSSEIN ALTHOUGH HE EVEN IMPLIES SOME RESERVATIONS IN THAT AREA. RIFAI TALKS INTERESTEDLY ABOUT INCREASING PARLIAMENTARY LIFE IN JORDAN AND ABOUT FORMING A NONE PARTY LOYALIST POLITICAL ORGANIZATION TO SUPPORT THE SECRET

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HASHEMITE REGIME. HE BLIEVES THAT FUTURE PRIME

MINISTER SHOULD BE FREE TO RULE WTHOUT SO MUCH ROYAL INTERFERENCE. HE SPEAKS IN WAYS THAT CONTINUE TO IMPLY HIS OWN AMBITIONS.

ARE BROAD AND UNCIRCUMSCRIBED, END SUMMARY

1. RESPOIND TO THE IMMEDIATE QUESTION OF JORDANS
ROLE IN THE ARAB WORLD RIFIA SAID THAT THE ONLY HOPE HE
SEES FOR THE FUTURE IS A FEDERATION WITH SYRIA. HE
EXPLAINED THAT HE IS SURE THRE WILL NOT BE ANY REAL
PROGRESS TOWARD A GENUINE ARAB ISRAELI PEACE AGREEMENT: THE LEAST
THAT CAN
BE DONE IS TO ESTABLISH SOME COHESION IN THE
EASTERN ARAB WORLD. RIFAI WENT ON TO SAY IN REPONSE
TO QUESTIONS THAT WHAT HE MEANT WAS ASOLIDLY-BASED
AND FENUINE FEDERTION. BOTH SIZED WOULD HAVE TO
GIVE UP EQUALLY TO CHIEVE A NEW ENTITY WITHOUT AT THE
SAME TIME BRINGING ABOUT THE DISAPPEARANCE OF EITHER
JORDAN OR SYRIA.

2. WHEN I ASKED WHAT AREAS COULD OR SHOUL BE GIVEN TO THE NEW FEDERATION HE SAID FOREIGN AFFAIRS DEFENSE CUSTOMS AND COMMUNICATIONS AND SIMILAR QUESTINS. WHEN I ASKED ABOUT INTERNAL SECURITY HE WAS INSISTENT OT STAY A JORDANIANS RESPONSIBILITY. LOCAL GOVERNMENT WOULD BE JORDANIANS. THE FRONTIER WOULD BE A LOOSE ONE. JORDANIANS AND SYRIAN MILITARY UNITS WOULD EVENTUALLY BE STATIONS IN EACH OTHERES TERRITORY.

3. I RECALLED FOR RIFAI HOW MUCH THE PRESENT RELATION
SHIP WAS BUILD ON THE PERSONAL FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN
ASAD AND HUSSEIN AND HOW FRAGILE THAT WAS. RIFAI SAID
THAT THE FRIENDLSHIP HAD TO BE DEVELOPED AND INSTITUTIONALIZED.
THAT WAS THE PROBLEM WITH THE PRESENT ARRANGEMENT
IF ASAD EVER GOT INTO TROUBLE UNDER A FEDERATION
JORDAN WOULD BE AROUND TO HELP OUT. COUPS IN SYRIA
WERE MADE WITH A FEW HUNDRED MEN OR A BATALION OR
MAYBE A BRIGADE.A STRONG FORCE TO SUPPORT ASAD IN
A TIME OF CRISIS WOULD BE IMPORTANT TO PRESERVE THE
FUTURE FEDERATION. RIFAI CONTINUED BY NOTING THAT
JORDAN HAD PROBABLY GOTTEN A GREAT DEAL MORE OUT OF
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THE PRESENT RELATIONSHIP WITH SYRIA THAN IT HAD GIVEN.
HE IMPLIED THAT HE BELIEVE SYRIA HAD AND WOULD CON
TINUE TO TREAT JORDAN FAIRLY AND EVEN CONTINUE TO BEND
OVER BACKWARDS TO SUPPORT THE RELATIONSHIPWITH JORDAN.

4. RIFAI SAID THATHE WAS SRRY THAT CIRCUMSTANCES KEPT JORDAN FROM MOVING TO A FEDERATION WITH SYRIA. THE PRSENT HONEYMOON IN THE ARAB WORLD WOULD MUTE

CRITICISM FROM PEOPLE IN PLACES LIKE SAUDI ARABIA WHO
WOULD NOT REACT WLL TO SUCH A STEP. IN THE LONG RUN
HOWEVER THE SAUDIS SHOULD REALIZE HE HYPOTHESIZED THAT SUCH A MOVE
WOLD BE IN THEIR OWN INTEREST AS WELL BECAUSE IT
ITE SYRIA INTO A MORE OPEN FRAMEWORK, LESS IDEOLOGICALLY
OR POLIICALLY RIGID. IT WOULD ALSO PROVIE A HELPFUL
COUNTERWEIGHT AGAINST THE IRAQIS WHO CONTINUED TO WORRY
THE SAUDIS.(COMMENT- RIFAI KNOWS BETTER. HE HAD A

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VERBAL SLANGING MATCH WITH KING KHALID ON THIS POINT SIX MONTHS AGO. THE SAUDIS HAVE GIVEN HIM NO SIGH THEY HAVE GROWN OR COULD GROW TO LIKE THE SYRIAN RELATIONSHIP, INDEED THEIR UNCONCELADED JOY AT RIFAIS POLITICAL DEMISE COULD ONLY LEAD HIM TO CONCLUDE HIS LOGIC HERE IS ALL WRONG.)

5. AT THIS POINT RIFAI DISGRESSED A BIT. HE SAID IRAQ WAS IN HIS JUDGEMENT NOW RULED BY A "GANG" OF 30 OR SO LEADERS AIDED BY A PRIVATE "PARTY" ARMY OF 100,000 LOCATED AROUND BAGHDAD. THE REGULAR MILITARY WERE KEPTOUT OF TOWN BY HIS PARTY ARMY BECAUSE THEY POSE A DANGER TO THE RULING GROUP. CURRENTLY THERE WERE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN BAKR AND SADDAM HUSSEIN TIKRITI. BAKR IS ILL OUT OF THE COUNTRY, AND PROBABLY DYING. SADDAM HUSSEIN IS TRYING TO ASSUME THE SUCCESSION.

6. TURNING TO THE SOVIETS, RIFAI CONTINUED THAT BOTH IRAQ AND EGYPT MADE HIM NERVOUS. IRAQ WOULD BE SUSCEPTIBLE TO SOVIET INFLUENCE, EGYPT IF THE US ELECTION SLOWED DOWN PEACE PROGRESS, WOULD BE ALSO. SADAT

WAS READY TO ABANDON THE US BECAUSE WITH SECRETARY
KISSINGER GONE,HE COULD EASILY CUT LOOSE FROM
ARRANGEMENTS WITH THE UNITED STATES ON THE BASIS
THAT SUCH ARRANGEMENTS HAD BEEN MADE WITH ANOTHER
GROUP NOW OUT OF POWER. SIMILARLY SADAT WAS ALREADY AFRAID THAT
US ELECTION CHANGES WOULD LEAVE HIM HIGH AND DRY IN MATTERS
OF RECOVERING TERRITORY FROM THE ISRAELIS AND OF
GAINING US ECONOMIC SUPPORT. THE FAHMI GROMYKO SOFIA MEETINGS WERE
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A FORM OF HEDGING HIS BET BY MOVING BACK TOWARD THE SOVIETS. RIFAI SAID THAT THE DILEMMA OF IT ALL IS THAT IN THE LAST ANALYSIS THE SOVIETS HAVE GIVEN THE ARABS MORE MATERIAL AID THAN THE US, AND US SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL HAS GIVEN THE ARABS MORE GRIEF. HOWEVER THE ARABS (IN HIS JUDGEMENT) DO NOT AND PROBABLY WILL NEVER TRUST AND LIKE THE SOVIETS AND THE US COULD WIN A FREE ELECTION IN THE MIDDLE EAST ANY DAY OF THE WEEK AGAINST THE SOVIETS.

7. TURNING BACK TO HIS IDEAS ON FEDERATION I ASKED RIFAI WHETHER LINKING UP WITH SYRIA WOULD NOT INTRODUCE POLITICAL PARTIES AND IDEALOGICAL DIFFERENCES TO JORDAN WHICH WERE ABSENT NOW. RIFAI SAID THAT UNDOUBTEDLY IT WOULD. HE WAS HIMSELF CONCERNED THAT THE ONLY ORGANIZED POLITICAL PARTIES NOW IN JORDAN WERE OPPOSITION PARTIES --BAATH COMMUNIST PALESTINIAN GROUPS AND SO ON. THESE PARTIES REPRESENTEDLY ONLY MINORITIES. THE MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE IN THE COUNTRY WEE LOYAL TO THE KING (NOT TO THE MONARCHY HE SAID BUT ONLY PERSONNAL TO HUSSEIN) AND WANTED AND WOULD SUPPORT A PARTY WHICH FAVORED THE KING BUT WHICH ALSO WOULD GIVE THEM AN OPPORTUNITY TO PARTICIPATE IN POLITICAL LIFE IN A MORE DEMOCRATIC WAY.

8. WARMING TO THE SUBJECT HE POINTED OUT THAT JORDAN HAD NO PARLIAMENT AND NO REAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS. HE (RIFAI) WAS PERSONALLY AGAINST A MULTI PARTY SYSTEM FOR JORDAN--"IF WE DID THAT WE WOULD HAVE 2 MILLION PARTIES" JORDAN WOULD HAVE AND NEEDED ONLY ONE POLITICAL PARTY. THE INSTITUTION OF SOME REPRESENTATIVE PROCESS OF GOVERNMENT COULD FOLLOW. THE QUESTION OF PARLIAMENT AND THE ELECTIONS WOULD ALSO HAVE TO BEFACED. BUT THE RABAT SUMMIT DECISIONS MADE THAT HARD. TOO OFTEN IN THE PAST THE KING HAD DEPENDED ON BRINKSMANSHIP FOR SURVIVAL. WHEN THE SITUATION GOT BAD HE BROUGHT IN THE ARMY CRACKED HEADS AND CREATED SOME BREATHING SPACE. THIS COULD NOT CONTINUE. SECONDLY THE PRESENT LACK OF SYSTEM WOULD NOT WORK FOREEVER. THERE HAD TO BE MORE INSTITUTIONALIZED

PROCESSES,	, INCLUDING	SOME W	HICH WO	OULD AL	LOW F	OR
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BROADER PARTICIPATION IN THE GOVERNMENT.

9. IN DISCUSSION THE IDEA OF CREATING A POLITICAL PARTY I ASKED RIFAI WHATHE WAS DOING ABOUT IT. HE SAID THAT MANY HAD COME TO HIM WHILE HE WAS PRIME MINISTER AND ASKED HIM TO START A PARTY. OTHER EVEN MORE HAD COME TO HIM WITH THE SAME REQUEST SINCE HIS RETIREMENT. HE HAD TOLD THEM ALL IT WAS NOT YET TIME. HE HAD DONE THIS BECAUSE THE KING WAS AGAINST ESTABLISHING SUCH AN ORGANIZATION. THE KING WAS WRONG RIFAI IMPLIED BUT DID NOT SAY OPENLY.THE PEOPLE WHO WANTED TO START SUCH A PARTY COULD DO SO WITHOUT THEKINGS PERMISSION IF THEY WANTED TO. AFTER ALL THEY WEREALL LOYAL SUPPORTERS OF HIS AND COULD NOT ALL BE PUNISHED IF THEY DID SO. RIFAI CLAIMED THAT HE WAS THE ONLY ONE STANDING BETWEEN THE KING AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THENEW PARTY AND WAS DOING SO OUT OF LOYALTY TO THE KING. RIFAI SAID HE IS GIVING THIS QUESTIONS A GREAT DEAL OF THOUGHT AND THAT A PARTY EVENTUALLY MUST BE ORGANIZED IN JORDAN. PERHAPS THE PARTY COULD HELP TO PROVIDE A MORE

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S E C R E T SECTION 3 OF 4 AMMAN 6783

NODIS

REPRESENTATIVE ORGANIZATION AND AT THE SAME TIME CULD HELP TO COVERCOME THE POST RABA ELECTION PROBLEM. IE WHETHER AND HOW "PALESTINIANS IN THE EAST BANK SHOULD OR COULD PARTICIPATE IN JORDANIANS ELECTIONS".

10.RIFAI THEN WENT ON TO DISCUSS FOR ME HIS THOUGHTS ON THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT AND OTHER RESPECST OF JORDANS POLITICAL FUTURE. WHEN I ASKED HIM IF THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT IS STABLE HE ANSERED BY SAYING "NO IT IS STAGNANT" "THE PRIME MINISTER IS NOTHING MORE THAN A VILLAGE MUKHTAR COMPROMISING OUT DIFFERENCEES". THERE MUST BE NEW LEADERSHIP. NONE OF THE OLD MEN ARE WORTH TYRING. ALL OF THE YOUNG ONES "ARE EXPERIMENTS" LIKE THE PRESENT PRIME MINISTER. "I ASKED RIFAI ABOUT COMING BACK HIMSELF AND ABOUT WHAT KING OF TIMING HE HAD IN MIND. HE SAID " I WILL NOT COME BACK UNTIL ALL OF MY DEMANDS ARE MET". THEN HE ADDED SOTTO VOCE "WHICH WILL PROBABLY BE NEVER". HE AVOIDED ANSWERING DIRECTLY MY QUESTIONS ABOUT HIS "DEMANDS" BY SAYING THERE ARE "TOO MAYNY OF THEM TO DESCRIBE TO YOU". THEN LATER AS IF TO ANSER HE SAID "WE NEED WHAT I HAVE BEEN TELLING YOU ABOUT, INSTITUTSIONS OME REPRESENTATIONVE ARRANGEMENTS A POLITICAL PARTY AND A SYSTEM WHICH WILL ALLOW THE PRIME MINISTER ON HIS OWN TO DO MORE TO RUN THE COUNTRY".

11. PICKING UP THE LAST POINT HE SAID BESIDES
MEDIOCRITY IN GOVERNMENT WE HAVE THE INTERFERENCE
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OF THE ROYAL FAMIOY. "SOMETHING HAS TO BE DONE
ABOUT PRIME MOHAMMED, ABOUT SHARIF NASR(KINGS UNCLE)
AND ABOUT CROWN PRINCE HASSAN. "NONE OF THESE PEOPLE HAS ANY
FOLLWOING, THE KING IS THE ONLY NE TO WHOM THERE IS
ANY LOYALTY". ALL OF THEM INTERFERE IN THE GOVERNMENT
AND MAKE IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR A PRIME MINISTE AND CABINET TO
FUNCTION". RIFAI ALSO LEFT ME WITH THE IMPRESSION
THAT THERE SHOULD BE SOME LIMITS ON THE KINGS OWN
INTERFERENCE IN SOME SOME OF THE MORE DAY TO DAY AFFAIRS
OF THE GOVERNMENT.ALL OF THESE CONCERNS I ASSUME
WERE INCLUDED IN HIS CATALOGUE OF "DEMANDS".

12. I ASKED RIFAI HOW LONG THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT WOULD LAST. HE SAID PROABALY FOR AT LEAST A FEW MONTHS. CERTAINLY THROUGH THE PREPARATION OF A BUDGET (AMMAN 6718) THE PROBLEM IS THAT THERE IS NOT ONE ON THE HORIZON TO REPLACE THEM.

13. COMMENT: RIFAI HAS OBVIOUSLY BEEN GIVING JORDANS PRESENT EXTERNAL AND INTERNAL POLITICIAL

POSITION MUCH THOUGYT. EXTERNALLY THE IDEA OF A FEDERATION WITH SRIA IS NOT A NEW ONE FOR HIM. HE HAS BEEN PUSHING IT ALL ALONG. WHILE IT SOMEHOW DOES NOT RING VERY TURE FROM HERE.IT HAS BEEN A CONSISTENT POSITION OF RIFAIS THAT CLOSER RELATIONS WITH SRIA ARE AN ANSWERE. TO JORDANS FADING OUT OF ARAB POLITICS IN RECENT MONTHS. HIS IDEAS ARE CAST MORE IN HISTORICAL THAN PRACTICAL TERMS. HE HAS ANSSER NONE OF THE VERY SATISFACTORY FOR THE DILEMMA--GIVEN JORDANS SMALLER POPULATION OF HOW DOES JORDN KEEP FROM BEING SAWLLED UP BYSYRIA? WHIS IS KINGS LIFE EXPECTANCY IN SUCH A SITAUTION CAN THE JORDAN TAIL CONTINUE TO WAG THE SYRIAN DOG? ONE ALMOST HAS THE IMPRESSION THAT RIFAI MIGHT WELL BE SEEING HISELF AS A LEADER OF A GREATER SRIA AND NOT BE TOO CONCERNED ABOUT THE KINGS FUTURE IIT IS WORTH NOTING ALSO THAT IDEAS OF A SYRIAN FEDERATION HAVE NOT ASSUMED MUCH POPULARLITY IN JORDAN. THERE ARE SIGNS THAT ENTHUSIASM FOR A CLOSER AND MORE ENDURING RELATIONSHIP WITH SRIA HAS WANED WITH THE KING. FURTHER EAST BANK LOYALTY MILITARY OFFICERSHAD DISTRUSTED SYRIA AS A MATTER ALMOST OF TRADITION, ESPECIALLY SECRET

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SINECE THE 1970 SYRIAN PARTICIPATION IN AN ATTACK ON JORDAN.

14. INTERESTINLY JORDANIANS AT ALL LEVELS WHO HAVE HAD PERSONAL CONTACT WITH PRESIDENT ASAD INCLUDING A FEW SKEPTICS LIKE CROWN PRINCE HASSAN AND MININFO ADNAN ABU ODEH HAVE COME AWAY FROM SUCH CONTACTS SEEMINGLY MORE TRUSTING ASAD SEEMS TOHAVE WORN VERY WELL WITH JORDANIANS NONE OF HIS ENTOURAGE HAS COME CLOSE TO HIM IN THIS RESPECT. MANY OF MY QUESTIONS TO RIFAI WERE MOTIVATED BY AN INTEREST IN DETERMINING WHETHER JORDANIANS HAD DEVELOPED ANY MORE DISTRUST OF ASAD AS A RESULT OF JORDANS NON-APARICIPATION IN RIYADH. NO APPARENT FEELING OF THIS SORT SEEMS TO HAVE COME THROUGH. SIMILARLY OUESTIONS WERE DIRECTED TO DETERMINING WHETHER JORDA FELT LEFT BEHIND BY SYRIAN-EGYPTIAN RAPPROCHMENT, HERE TOO SO SUCH FEELINGS HAVE COME THROUGH OR ALTERNATIVELY JORDANIANS ARE BEING SCRUPULOUSLY CAREFUL IN MANAGING SUCH INFORMATION. ONE DOES ESNES FROM RIFAI A VERY REAL CONCERN ABOUT THE US HAVING BEEN OVERSOLD ON EGYPTS LEADERSHIP CAPACITY IN THE ARAB WORLD. THERE IS

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NODIS

NOTHING NEW IN THIS FROM RIFAI. THE IDEA THAT SADAT
IN TURNING BACK TO THE SOVIETS IN OBVIOUSLY SEEN BY
HIM AS ONE "PROOF OF SADATS INCONSTANCY AND THE
FACT THAT THE US MAY WELLHAVE BITEN OFF A GREAT
DEAL MORE THAN IT COULD DIGEST WHEN IT ACQUIESCED
IN DEVELOPMENTS SUCH AS PRESIDENT NIXONS 1974 TRIP
WHICH ACCORDING TO RIFAI LED EGYPTIANS POPULACE AND PERHAPS SOME
LEADERS TO BELIEVE THAT US-SPONSREED ECONOMIC BAILOUT OF
EGYPT WAS CLOSE AROUND THE CORNER.

15. IN TERMS OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS, RIFAI'S FUTURE THOUGHTS SEEM ALSO TO BE ORIENTED TOWARD LOOSENING THE GRIP IN STRICT MONARCHIAL CONTROL. CERTAINLY A POLITICAL PARTY (UNDER HIS LEADERSHIP) PARLIAMENTARY INSTITUATIONS A WEAKENED ROYAL FAMILY SOME CIRCUMSCRIPTION OF THE KINGS PRESENTLY WIDERANGING POWERES COULD ALL WELL SERVE HIS OWN NORROW PERSONAL INTEREST IN EVENTUALLY RUNNING JORDAN. IT IS TRUE ALSO THA SUCH STEPS COME CLOSER TO IDEAS POPULAR IN THE WEST ABOUT THE PROPER DIRECTION FOR THE EVOLUTION OF ABSOUTE STATUES. SUCH IDEAS WOULD PROBABLY HAVE WIDE POPULARLITY IN JORDAN EVEN IF THEY WERE PARTICALLY BLEMISHED FOR THEIR HAVING BEEN ESPOUSED BY RIFAI. RIFAI IS NOT A WIDELY POPULAR LEADER IN ANY SENSE OF THE WORLD. BUT HIS CLOSENESS TO THE KING HIS LIVELY MIND AND HIS ENERGY HAVE ALL KEPTHIM IN THEFOREFRONT OF THE LOCAL POWER ELITE. WHILE STILL TOO EARLY TO SAY WITH ANY FINALITY THE INTERESTING POINTS ABOUT RIFAIS IDEA ARE THAT SECRET

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THEY PIT HIM AGAINSTTHE KING ON A NUMBER OF POINTS
AND DO A GREAT DEAL TO PROVIDEA POSSIBLE PLATFORM FOR RIFAIS
OWN FUTURE. RIFAI HAS RARELY BUCKED THE KING IN THE
PAST HE HAS BEEN EXTREMELY CLEVER IN GETTING THE KING
TO MOVE ALONG HIS OWN PAST(RIFAIS) OFTEN WITH THE KING BE
LIEVING IT WAS HIS OWN IDEA. WITH THE PRESENT LACUNAE
IN GOVERNMENT OF JORDAN, WE INTEND TO KEEP A CLOSE
ON RIFAI AND HIS RELATIONSHIP WITH THE KING. HOWEVER AT
PRESENT THAT RELATIONSHIP GIVES EVERY SURFACE SIGN
OF ROBUST GOOD HEALTH.
PICKERING

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Message Attributes

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Concepts: FOREIGN RELATIONS, POLITICAL STABILITY, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS, POLITICAL SITUATION, CAT-C,

INTERGOVERNMENTAL COOPERATION, MILITARY PLANS

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04 MÅY 2006

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Subject: TALK WITH ZAID RIFAI-JORDANS FUTURE

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